

The EU Eastern Enlargement and the Historical Relation between East Central Europe and Japan

著者	Haba Kumiko
出版者	法政大学社会学部学会
journal or publication title	社会志林
volume	49
number	2
page range	30-61
year	2002-12
URL	http://hdl.handle.net/10114/5798

The EU Eastern Enlargement and the Historical Relation between East Central Europe and Japan

Kumiko Haba

1. The Relation between Eastern Europe and Japan

After the 'Systemic Transformation', namely, the political, social and economic transformation of Eastern Europe in 1989, many Japanese large-scale enterprises rushed to this region, especially the area referred to as East Central Europe, Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. Some Japanese enterprises evacuated from these countries with the stagnation of the East European economy as well as when the Yugoslavian dispute bogged down in 1993 and division of Czech and Slovakia occurred. Recently however, Japanese enterprises have begun to return to this area as a result of these countries participating in NATO in March 1999 with plans to join to the EU in the time frame of 2003-6.

Not only Japanese enterprises but also the Japanese Government, middle-and small enterprises and groups, and many tourists have begun to visit to East Central Europe after the collapse of the socialist system and the regions return to Europe. Japanese foreign capital is being invested in large quantities to East Central Europe, and especially to Hungary. As a result there are many Japanese large and middle-sized companies in Hungary.

In this article the author analyzes the relationship between East Central Europe and Japan, especially under the Eastern Enlargement of Europe, concentrating on the so called Central European Countries, and especially Hungary.

First, the author examines from the general viewpoint of a short history the relationship between Eastern Europe and Japan, secondly she shows

the systemic transformation of Eastern Europe after 1989 and the regions 'Return to "Europe"', the EU enlargement strategy and Asian Economic Development, as well as regional cooperation in East and Central Europe, East Central Europe attitudes towards European Integration, and Russian questions and problems. Lastly she shows the relations between Japan and East Central Europe from 1989 until now from a variety of perspectives.

2. A Short History of the Relations between Eastern Europe and Japan

First, the author briefly surveys the historical relations between Eastern Europe and Japan. Relation and cultural interchange between Japan and Eastern Europe already existed in the 19th century. It is very interesting that before the Chino-Japanese War and Russo-Japanese War, Japanese interest towards Eastern Europe was very high, primarily because of her interest in the nation state building in the middle power country against the big powers¹⁾.

Except for early writings like Moric Benyovszky's adrift records on Japan at the end of 18th century²⁾, interests between both Eastern Europe and Japan essentially began with the Meiji era and Austria-Hungarian Monarchy in the later 19th century.

Sanshi Tokai's novel "Kajin no Kigu (Coincidence to meet: Political Novel)" became a best seller in Meiji era Japan as it introduced East European national revolutionary heroes, like Lajos Kossuth in Hungary and Tadeusz Kosciuszko in Poland. During the Russo-Japanese War, a part of the Japanese General Staff Office contacted Polish nationalists, Roman Dmowski and Józef Piłsudski for the purpose of getting Russian information instead of giving a financial aid for Polish independence from Russia, or a part of Japanese military, Colonel Motojiro Akashi approached, and gave funds to various Eastern and Northern European Socialists (especially radicals) against the Russian Empire³⁾.

After the Russo-Japanese War, Japanese interests transferred to the European big powers, while East European peoples like Hungarians and

Poles increased their interest towards Japan as the victor against the Russian Empire. The Hungarian and Czech prisoners of war of Habsburg Monarchy who fought against Russia in the First World War were sent to Siberia, and after the war they could only come home via the Japanese Sea as a result of the Russian Revolution. So new successor states of the Habsburg Monarchy in East Central Europe had many interests towards Japan either.

In 1930 autocracy and militarism grew in both Eastern Europe and Japan, as "Turanism" widened in Hungary and Japan. As a consequence of this, the states concluded a Cultural Treaty with the strong support of both the Government and Foreign Ministry in 1938. It is the First Cultural Treaty with a European Country for Japan (before Germany), and it is a very political treaty, which was aimed at strong cooperation against Soviet Russia⁴⁾. The Treaty also aimed to create an information network against Soviet Russia.

However after the Second World War, East Central Europe fell under control of the Soviet Allied Army and Soviet Socialist System, and relations between Eastern Europe and Japan weakened. During this period, the Hungarian upheaval in 1956, the Spring of Prague in 1968 and Polish Solidarity movement in the 1980s had a big influence on Japanese Socialists and intelligentsia. In 1956, the Japanese Communists were divided between the traditional main party and anti-Stalinist Leftists, which resulted in the New-Left Movement, and the Association of the History of Russia was started. After 1968, the Japanese Left-Socialists movement developed connecting European Movements.

From the view of Eastern Europe, some interests and weak connection continued with the Communists and Socialists of Japan, as well as relations between the Anti-Nuclear movements (Hiroshima and Nagasaki). But for the general masses, each country became "far and alien" countries to each other. (If we think the distance of Japan and Hungary is same or nearer than Washington D.C. or Vienna, we can understand how "alien" East European countries are in our general image.) Economic relations

were especially weak because of COCOM.

1989 brought a turning point with the systemic Transformations in Eastern Europe, also significant point was the 1980s propulsion of liberalization in Hungary, and as a result economic relations began to increase and diplomatic relation actively followed in the 1990s.

In the following the author investigates that East European countries are in fact returning to "Europe". More precisely speaking, those countries where differences have appeared between their former "Eastern European" identities. One is the so called "Central European Countries", which are joining various European organizations; OECD, EC/European Council/, OSCE, especially NATO and the EU in the near future, and the other is the "Balkan" countries: Romania, Bulgaria, Albania, and Yugoslavia, which have been systemically far from Central European countries until now, but have also begun to slowly democratize one by one, at least for the present. After that Russia, the Ukraine, and Central Asian countries which are continuing to remain distant from Europe.

Next, the author analyzes the Enlargement of Europe and East Central Europe in more detail. After these analyses, she presents the problems and perspectives in recent Eastern Europe, and to summarize and state her view of the recent and future relationships between Eastern Europe and Japan.

3. East Central Europe and 'Return to "Europe"'⁵⁾

Professor Iván Berend, the former President of the Hungarian Academy and now the Professor of University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) asked, in his article, 'Towards "Europe", but how?' He showed the difficulty of the Economic Periphery countries to catch up with the Center. 'We have to begin to get rid of their prejudice at first', he wrote at the end of the article⁶⁾.

The 'Return to Europe' and 'Enlargement of Europe' is the most important theme for former Eastern European, especially East Central European Foreign Policy at the present time. Eastern Europe is also

'Europe' geographically. So what does it mean concretely to return to 'Europe', or 'Enlargement of Europe'? At first we have to define the term of "Europe", what it means here.

Europe is a geographical concept comprising East European countries. Historically European 'borders' where changed many times by Mongol, Turkish and Russian conquests until the 20th century. It is very difficult to say, is Russia or Turkey e.g. now included in Europe or not? It is a rather political term already. Historically and culturally the most important cement of Europe was the religion of Christianity, but there were also various conflicts and confrontations inside and outside it.

Krzysztof Pomian, Professor of History, University of Sorbonne, wrote the Cultural and Political History of Europe, entitled "L'Europe et ses nations". Here he says "The History of Europe is the History of the state borders, which were always shifted. As Europe was made up of many various elements, the History of Europe is the History of dispute: There are not only disputes torn between Europe and outside powers, but disputes of the Europeans themselves between the trend towards integration and unity and the trend towards division and diversity." (K. Pomian, 1990)⁷⁾

After the break-up of the Socialist-System in Eastern Europe in 1989, many people began to speak of 'One Europe' or a 'Return to Europe'. These concepts of 'One Europe' and a Return to 'Europe' subtly differ from each other. When people used the term 'One Europe', it was implied that divided parts of Europe become one, and that the equality and diversity of Europe recovered. But in a 'Return to 'Europe' it is deemed that people come back to 'a One Model Europe', which did not have European character until now. In this sense, 'Europe' means not a trend towards division and diversity, but a trend towards integration and unity, as Pomian said.

But what are the contents of the integrated 'Europe'? :It means Modernization, Industrialization, a Liberal-Democratic Parliamentary system, and a Capitalist market economy, which East European countries had not achieved historically. But this is the concept of the 19th century, not now. So the new European concept has to redefine under the new facts. Europe

also has to adopt much more information technology or needs to set up a new system of the standard appropriate to the end of 20th century. But the concept of "Modern European Model" is self explanatory, and the "Modernization" means "Europeanization", although it concretely isn't really the same in each country owing to big differences.

After the Modernization period of 18th and 19th century, East European Countries were cut loose from such a "stereo-typed" Modern European concept, and were lumped together as nations under the label Autocratic state, or as Balkanized: like 'Another Europe'. And people ignored the existence of Another Europe, even in the textbooks of World history and world politics. Later the Second World War, 'the iron curtain' and the Cold War had shut out these 'other European' countries, to the East. Afterwards the 'Europe', but as only Satellites of the Soviet Union.

The break up of the Socialist system in 1989 didn't allow them to return to 'One, diverse Europe' either, which they dreamed of at first. At that time, the concept of 'Central Europe' came to the surface, where lived cultural and peaceful nations, but divided from the West by the 'iron curtain' during the Cold War. But this concept of 'Central Europe' also didn't have roots afterwards in the real world.

The collapse of the Berlin Wall lessened the big difference between East and West not only economically but also socially. After the introduction of marketization and privatization, and the expansion of the EU until their Western border (Austria e.g.), they perceived the difficulty of catching up with the West and the existence of the new 'Western Wall' or 'paper (money) curtain'.

'Return to Europe' does not mean equal partnership and equal integration, but it means the process to introduce the Western model to the East. Could they successfully accomplish their tasks, in spite of the fact that they were another historically diverse Europe? Here I would like to investigate the recent process towards European integration in Eastern Europe.

4. The EU's Enlargement Strategy and Asian Economic Development in 1995–1996.

In Addition to efforts to Return to 'Europe' in both Eastern Europe and Russia, the EU itself is enlarging its strategy towards Eastern direction.

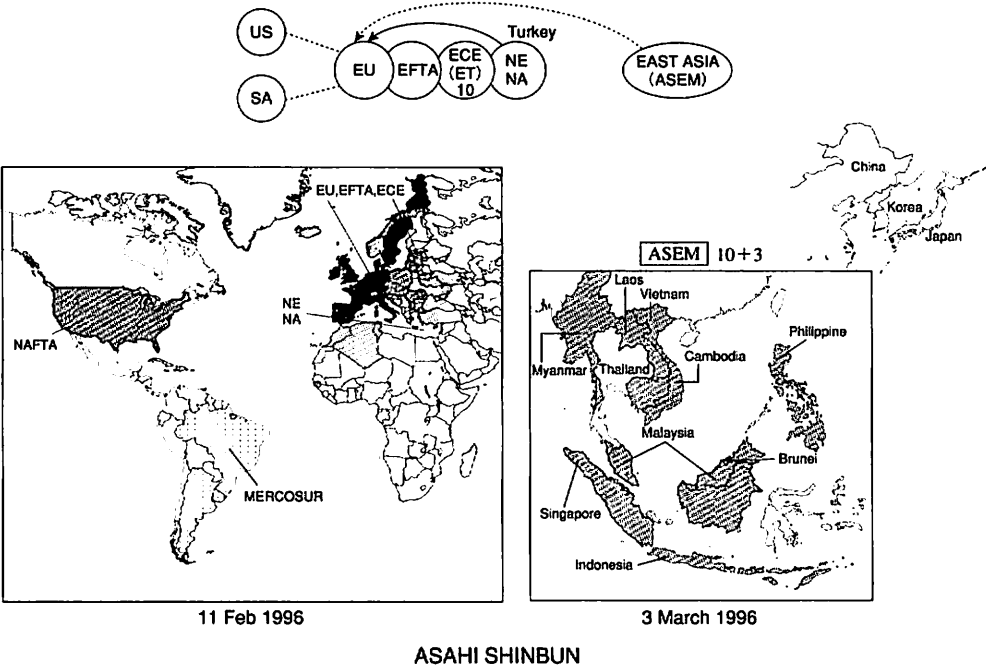
It is well known that European Integration began as a wish for peace and an oath against war after the Second World War. But why is "Europe" enlarging, especially at the end of 20th century? The reasons for European integration and enlargement at the end of 1980s was based on the end of the Cold War, the division of Europe, and moreover on the Asian Economic Development in 1990s.

See Table 1, quoted from Asahi Shinbun in Japan⁸⁾. From the end of 1995 to 1996, the EU concluded various treaties or customs Unions with Mediterranean countries, South American countries, the US, and Turkey, which aimed towards free trade. And just recently on the 1st–2nd March, 1996, there was held the first EU-Asian Top-Level Meeting (ASEM), in Bangkok, Thailand. It is easy to understand that the EU is expanding its influence not only into EFTA, and Eastern Europe, but also to the US, Near East, North Africa, South America, and Asia. Only Russia and the former Soviet Republics, South Asia, and most areas of Africa are excluded.

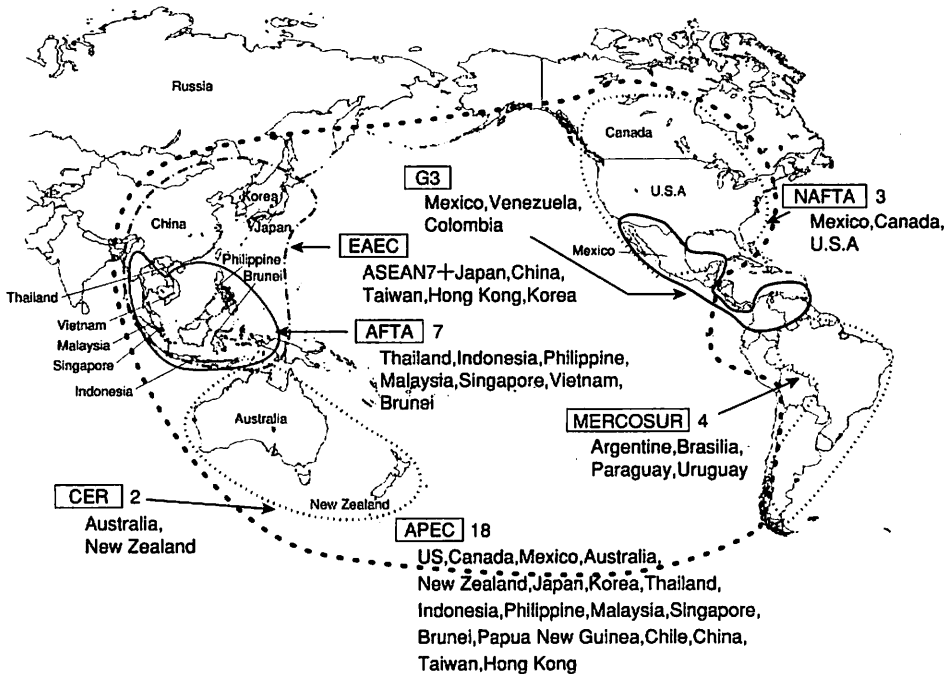
In the Background to this strategy, 'There is the Structural change of the World Economy after the Cold War', says Peter Plat, economic adviser of the European Council. The collapse of the Wall between East and West made new trading partners and afterwards free competition began on a global scale.

Apart from NAFTA, as the US started the expansion of its economic sphere of influence across the Pacific Ocean(APEC) (See Map 1), in addition to NAFTA, in opposition to this, the EU has been forced to a stronger relationship with near by "New European countries". So they expanded the EU to not only 15 countries, but concluded the EEA treaty with Iceland, Liechtenstein, and Norway, and FTA with Switzerland. So it

Table 1. Expansion of the EU Trade Treaty



Map 1. Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation



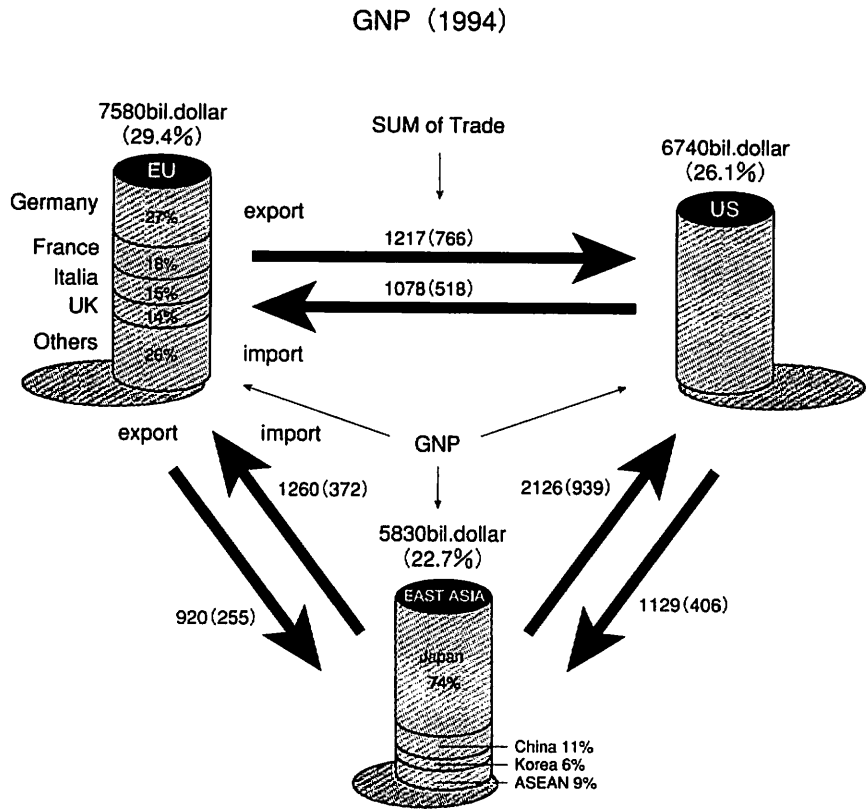
can be seen that actually 19 countries will become a united market. Furthermore, the EU concluded a customs union with Turkey in January 1996. In the opinion of Mr. Masuda, Chief Officer of Fuji Research Institute in London Office, the customs union with Turkey is economically very closely connecting Turkey with the EU, and it is closer to a united market than the EEA, because they introduced common customs tariffs for their trade: This means to make easy the transfer of goods through market integration, he says⁹⁾.

The EU concluded the European Treaty with 10 East European countries and started economic cooperation. After that it opened free trade with the Near East and North Africa by the Barcelona Declaration in November 1995. It is aiming for free trade between the EU and the Mediterranean area by 2001.

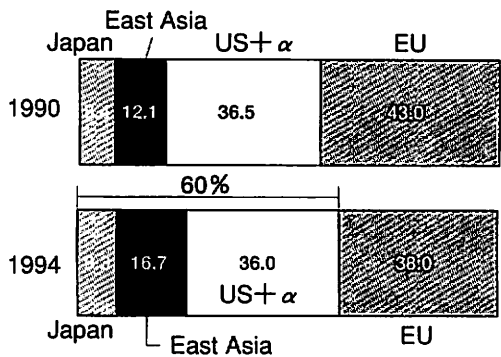
And now towards Asia. In 1994, all Asian trade occupied 23% (312, 5 billion dollars) of the total of EU trade, and this is already more than the US trade (235 billion dollars) with the EU. Now East Asian Export Trade is rising very quickly. It already formed 26% of the total of world Exports in 1994. The EU reasons that in Asia one billion people will have high purchasing power in near future, and 400 million people among them will have equal income to or higher than the European average by 2000¹⁰⁾. It is the beginning of the so called 3 economic blocks namely the EU, the US, and East Asia (Table 2). Under such circumstances, on 1-2 March, the EU and Asia summit (ASEM) promised cooperation between the EU and Asia.

Jacque Chirac, the French President said, "Asia, with the vitality of its cultures and civilizations and its economic triumphs, legitimately desires to play a political role commensurate with its importance and to establish new world equilibrium in the 21st century" (Table 3). A dialogue between Europe and Asia has now been opened, with London hosting the next summit in 1998. This process promises to fill the gap in the triangular relationship between Asia, Europe and the US. (Wrote V. Smart, Political Editor of the European)¹¹⁾. Expanding the EU could be said to be the strategic creation of a path towards the 3 polar structures in the 21

Table 2. Comparison of GNP : The EU, the US, Asia



3 March 96, ASAHI SHINBUN



SUM of World Trade (1990,1994)

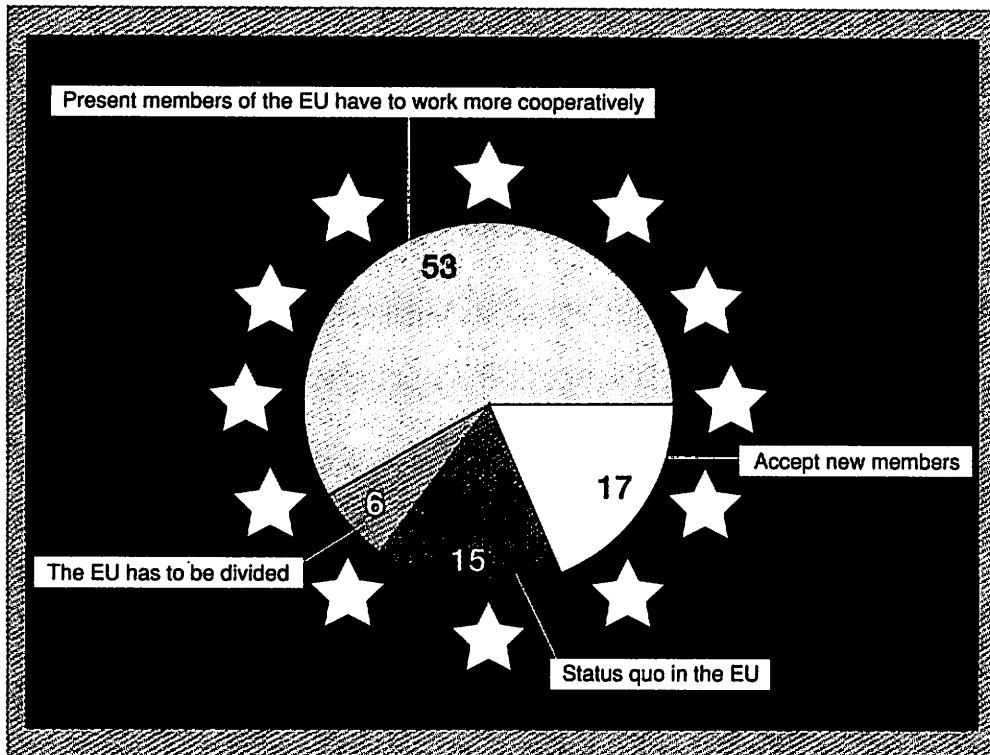
Table 3. GDP at Current Prices

GDP at Current Prices

Country	GDP (at current prices)									
	1970	Per capita	1980	Per capita	1993	Per capita	1994	Per capita	1995	Per capita
Japan	US \$ mil 203,736	US \$ 1,953	US \$ mil 1,059,257	US \$ 9,068	US \$ mil 4,275,522	US \$ 34,286	US \$ mil 4,687,134	US \$ 37,509	US \$ mil 5,110,493	US \$ 40,897
US	1,035,600	5,050	2,784,200	12,224	6,550,200	25,377	6,931,400	26,593	7,245,800	27,799
UK	124,248	2,242	538,635	9,562	945,932	16,332	1,021,335	17,492	1,056,662	18,097
Germany	184,508	3,042	809,850	13,154	1,908,221	23,506	2,046,044	25,130	2,413,598	29,644
France	142,868	2,814	664,591	12,335	1,249,662	21,673	1,330,990	22,988	1,537,576	26,496
Italy	107,485	2,003	452,646	8,021	985,147	17,262	1,016,166	17,768	1,086,725	19,002
Canada	85,066	3,990	265,041	11,025	552,571	19,094	549,232	18,777	568,351	19,431
Switzerland	20,733	3,349	101,647	16,083	232,066	33,439	257,293	36,809	303,932	43,481
Belgium	25,801	2,671	118,022	11,982	210,097	20,905	227,937	22,613	...	...
Netherlands	33,481	2,570	169,356	11,977	311,763	20,257	334,297	21,736	...	...
Spain	37,569	1,112	211,542	5,635	478,588	12,246	482,366	12,324	559,167	14,286
Sweden	33,293	4,141	124,896	15,030	185,289	21,176	196,598	22,366	...	...
Argentina	23,734	999	76,974	2,726	255,595	7,591	...	...	...	...
Brazil	41,700	451	234,909	1,937	507,353	3,186	...	...	...	...
Mexico	35,520	701	194,348	2,790	367,628	4,031	377,114	4,190	...	...
India	57,547	107	172,977	256	262,690	291	301,405	328	...	...
Thailand	7,086	195	32,354	693	124,960	2,133	143,178	2,410	...	...
Malaysia	3,971	382	24,488	1,787	63,339	3,290	70,627	3,594	85,330	4,342
Indonesia	9,205	77	72,483	491	X 158,007	X 835	174,640	909	...	...
Philippines	7,181	195	32,444	671	54,370	828	64,121	956	74,094	1,105
Korea	8,771	272	62,626	1,643	332,822	7,554	379,623	8,540	...	...
Taiwan	5,663	386	41,401	2,325	222,629	10,630	241,014	11,408	260,805	12,345
Hong Kong	3,797	959	28,495	5,632	116,017	19,601	131,407	21,679	143,650	23,207
Singapore	1,896	916	11,718	4,862	57,449	20,017	69,514	23,725	83,697	28,565
Australia	37,285	2,980	150,756	10,256	282,743	16,010	324,102	18,167	347,539	19,481
New Zealand	6,532	2,324	22,489	7,231	43,231	12,494	51,173	14,663	...	...
Saudi Arabia	3,867	624	156,487	16,701	118,515	6,923	120,168	6,886	...	...
China	...	...	301,508	303	599,012	501	522,188	432	...	...
Viet Nam	...	...	...	...	12,834	180	...	...	...	...
Russian Federation	317,222	1,307	X 937,879	X 3,532	X 172,893	X 1,167	278,865	1,885	363,881	2,461
(Ref.)										
OECD	2,205,842	2,882	8,081,040	9,509	X 19,509,437	X 20,217	20,779,023	21,358	...	...
G7	1,883,511	3,417	6,574,220	11,015	X 16,467,255	X 24,741	17,582,301	26,252	19,019,205	28,392
EU	751,752	2,327	3,373,546	9,961	X 6,906,936	X 18,692	7,341,115	19,792	...	...
Asian NIEs	20,128	380	144,241	2,275	728,917	9,878	821,557	11,330	...	...
ASEAN	27,443	135	161,769	631	400,675	1,205	452,567	1,338	...	...

Bank of Japan, International Comparative Statistics, 1996

Table 4. The Poll on the EU future
(to the EU members' nations)



9 March 1996, Népszabadság

(*その他は省いてあるので
合計は100にはならない)

century.

But here the author asks for attention for Table 4.¹²⁾ The EU elite are very much longing for expansion, but nations in the EU don't want to expand any more. Almost 70 percent of people feel that it is enough to maintain the status-quo. It has been written, Austrians who participated in the EU last year, are most strongly opposed to any expansion.

5. The Regional Cooperation in East and Central Europe

After the Breakup of the Socialist system in Eastern Europe at the end of 1989, National Conflicts broke out; just about at the same time the European Union began. So generally it can be said: "The West European integrates whilst the East European disintegrates". But National conflicts

could be seen also as one of the reform processes of the new states, as they prepare for the process of European integration.

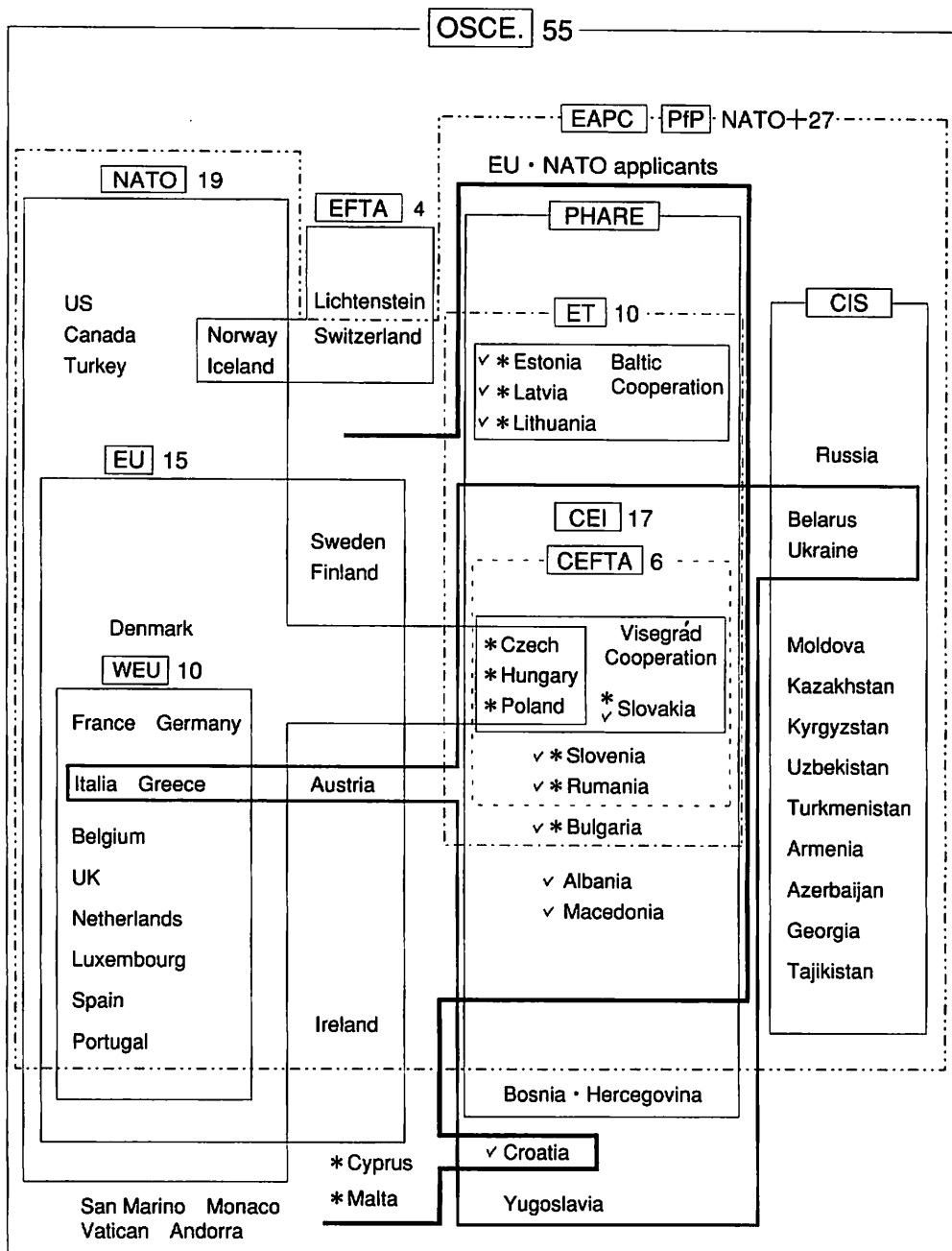
After the Berlin Wall collapsed and West and East Germany were united from 1990–91, onward there was a strong upsurge of the concept of “Central Europe” in Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, and Poland. Already in the 1980s, Milan Kundera and György Konrád in the anti-Establishment intelligentsia wrote articles about Central European integration with the aim to end the Yalta System and the Cold War.

From 1990, this anti-Establishment intelligentsia participated in or authorized the new power of East Central Europe; the concept of ‘Central’ Europe was strengthened by President Havel, Göncz, and Lech Wałęsa, as they tried to organize regional cooperation amongst the new Central European Countries. Under this concept, the ‘Pentagonale’ started with 5 Central European countries at the end of 1989, namely Hungary, Italy, Austria, Yugoslavia, and Czecho-Slovakia. And it changed the name to the ‘Hexagonale’, at the Central European Initiative in March 1993¹³⁾.

In Central Europe cooperation of three countries (Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland. Afterwards for countries: Slovakia divided.) began from 1990, called the Visegrád Group, because they held a second conference in Visegrád, Hungary. (See Table 5)¹⁴⁾. These countries have a similar Economic, Social, and Political situation: GDP, Purchasing Power Parity, wages, etc¹⁵⁾. The Visegrád group aimed at first at a stronger and closer State Confederation, but they determined later that cooperation is better. After the breakup of the Soviet Union, they aimed at strong security cooperation in the new vacuumed sphere by the withdrawal of the Soviet Army, and tried to approach to the NATO, or attempted an economical cooperation like CEFTA in December 1992.

They engaged in many other regional cooperation schemes like the Alpen-Adriatic Regional Cooperation, the Carpathian Euro-Region, or Balkan Regional Cooperation, Black Sea Coast Regional Cooperation, and so on. In 1990–1993 there was a real boom of such regional cooperation in East and Central European Countries for regional stability between West

Table 5. "Central European" Organizations



Source : Kumiko Haba, *Enlarging Europe : Central Europe searching a way*, Tokyo, 1998

and East.

But after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the start of long term national conflicts in Bosnia, it seems that the former Soviet Union is out of the picture, and the concept of an expanding Europe is gradually strengthened, in conjunction with the world economic integration. (But the Regional Cooperation become strengthened again just at the end of 20th century, after the joining to the NATO. About the NATO, the author refers to it again later.)

At first the Czech state breaking away from Slovakia, criticized the Central European Regional Cooperation, which is the only alternative to joining in the EU, and tried to negotiate with the EU on its own, and not through the mutual agreement of the three Visegrád. This was due to the Czech's self-confidence that they were nearest to Western Europe, having implemented a Political Parliamentary Democracy, the Economic model of Marketization and privatization, and a Middle-class Society, and so on.

After that, the Regional Cooperation was deadlocked, despite the fact that Hungary and other countries tried to see the importance of regional cooperation, and the competition to participate in the EU began among Central Europe and Balkan countries.

Hungarian authorities criticized the Czechs, so even if there is a difference in the participation with the EU, this is only a small difference of half a year or so, which is trivial, because the EU sees Central European Countries as a unit. The author agrees with this. But the Czech Government seems to be looking for after integration with the EU. It seems that the Czech Republic wishes to see itself not as a small agrarian Central European country, but as a medium-sized Industrialized Western country. Czech Prime Minister (at that time) Václav Klaus said, "We are already West: because that inflation is 7, 9%, unemployment is 3% like Japan, economic growth is 5% and here is a political and social stability¹⁶⁾. But this confidence and policy were collapsed later.

6. East Central Europe towards European Integration

1) First stage of access: Reorganization of Central Europe: from 1991–1993.

After the summer of 1991, the economic and political reorganization in Central Europe shifted towards the ultimate goal of European Integration. The most important reasons were the collapse of the Soviet Union and the unstable situation in the former Soviet Union, and the irreversible movement towards privatization and democratization, and the worldwide acceleration of free trade.

In these circumstances, hopes for European integration rose rapidly, after the last fear of military invasion by Russia had been swept away, and the new need for security against the Bosnian crisis and the instability of the former Soviet Union had clearly appeared.

Central European Countries and Balkan countries already started to participate in European integration in 1990, but from the end of 1991, the EU or the NATO heads also began to put this theme on the agenda. The Hungarian News Paper, Magyar Nemzet wrote, "The United Kingdom, the United States and Germany, but not France, seem to recognize the importance of opening the doors of the EU to new democratic Central and Eastern European countries in a short time"¹⁷⁾.

In addition to the Western European and the US acceptance of the three countries as associate members of the EC, there exists the desire of both Western and Central Eastern countries that "through the cooperation of the EC and EFTA, including former Eastern Europe, the biggest market in the world will be born", wrote Magyar Nemzet, 24 October, 1991¹⁸⁾. 16 December 1991, Three Central European Countries signed a European Associated Treaty in Brussels, and became associate members of the EC. After that, all the 10 Central-East European countries including the Baltic countries concluded the European Treaty, one after another.

〈The NATO: The Expansion of Relations with the NATO〉

Changes in European Security arrangements also came to parallel those in the economic field. The NATO began to take action towards expanding to include East Central European countries, in view of "the end of the Yalta system", of the complete withdrawal of the Soviet army from East Central Europe, and of the break up of the Soviet Union.

Until May 30 1991, the head of the NATO said that "the security of Central Europe has no connection with NATO"¹⁹⁾.

But this changed after the autumn of 1991, just after the failure of the coup d'état in the Soviet Union in August 1991 and the collapse of the Soviet Union.

After the failure of the coup d'état, the Visegrád three countries made conciliatory contacts with the NATO from middle September 1991. One month later Manfred Wörner, Chief Head of the NATO said in Washington to a Hungarian newspaper, that "the NATO promotes the establishment of an all-European security system, on 11 October 1991. But it was also reported that fundamentally the NATO would have ties with Eastern Europe, but would not guarantee their security (6 November, 1991. Magyar Nemzet.)²⁰⁾

After that the Visegrád three countries continued to have meetings with the leaders of the NATO, and appealed for a strengthening of the relations between the three countries and the NATO. The consequence of that was the Declaration of Rome on 8th November 1991, when the NATO decided upon the establishment of a consultative organ, the NACC (North Atlantic Cooperation Council: It reformed EAPC: Europe and Atlantic Partnership Council in May 1997)²¹⁾.

But after the European Treaty and the NACC, the movement to join to the EC or the NATO didn't accelerate, but rather stagnated. Hungarian Foreign Minister (at that time) Géza Jeszenszky said, that "Too many candidates rushed to the EC and the NATO, and this disturbs the joining

to it" in 1993²²⁾.

One reason that the EC trod prudently was recession and rising unemployment, and anxiety over the Central European low-priced goods and labour. So the Associate Treaty was concluded, but by the protectionism of the EC, the list of export articles was limited and it imposed high customs on meat and processed food. It made various conditions which East European countries have to meet.

Whilst the former East European Countries wished to join to the EU for the sake of Economic development, but the Western Countries indicated, they could only join to the EU, if Eastern European Countries achieved Economic development. Between the two, there are big differences.

In March 1999, three Central European countries, Hungary, Poland, and Czech joined to NATO, and 12 days after the NATO bombing to Yugoslavian Kosovo began. It is very symbolic. Central Europe went into "Europe" and Balkan was not. If they wish to join, they have to cooperate and help against Slobodan Milošević autocracy for "democratization"... These 2-3 years in the century's turning era, it begins a fierce competition, as to which country succeeded to join to the NATO and the EU, by performing best in privatization, GDP, exports, democratization, defend human right, and so on²³⁾.

2) The Second Stage: Privatization and the cut down of the Social Welfare: from the end of 1994-1999.

〈Schedule for joining to the EU〉

In December 1994, there was held the Central European Summit in Essen, and they adopted the Essen Document: in it was written the Strategy for the integration of the Central and East European Countries. It stipulates the basic measures and mechanisms for the actual process of accession. It was decided in Essen to hold annual summit meetings with the Associated Countries, while foreign ministers would meet twice a year

and other ministers once or twice a year to exchange views²⁴⁾.

In June 1995, the Document entitled, The Hungarian Government's Medium-Term Economic Policy strategy (1995–1998), shows structural changes in production and financial services, culture, social services, and public finance. The reform of the budgetary system is intended to minimize the level of redistribution in the economy by reducing the role of the state, in line with the trend in the EU countries (Facts Sheets)²⁵⁾.

So from the end of 1994, the integration agenda newly active under the influence of the EU enlargement. It is said that “as an integral part of Hungary’s preparation strategy, the country intends to participate as fully as possible in the preparations of the EU intergovernmental Conference in 1996.

A Hungarian authority in London said, that in summer 1997, after the EU Intergovernmental Conference in which it is spoken about the participation of Cyprus and Malta, and at the beginning of 1998, negotiations will begin between Central European countries and the EU. The Central European countries economic index is relatively low, but the participation is rather a political decision, they say. So, from the point of view of the Hungarian authority, the negotiation will last 2–3 years at least, or a maximum 5 years. So from 2000–2005 onward, it seems that East Central European Countries will be participating in the EU²⁶⁾. The EU had given no guarantee about this. However, thinking about the enlargement plan from the end of 1995 to the beginning of 1996, the EU also really wished to enlarge and strengthen the European free trade framework.

And at last, in the Top-level meeting of the EU in July 1997, East Central European 6 countries nominated in the negotiation of joining EU: Hungary, Poland, Czech, Slovenia, Estonia, and Cyprus. Three of these joined to the NATO in March 1999, before the anniversary of 50 year of formation of the NATO. European Enlargement is begun.

But Integration does not mean all problems are solved, but problems even rise and grow under the enlargement of the EU. About this problems,

the author wishes to refer later.

7. The Russian Question

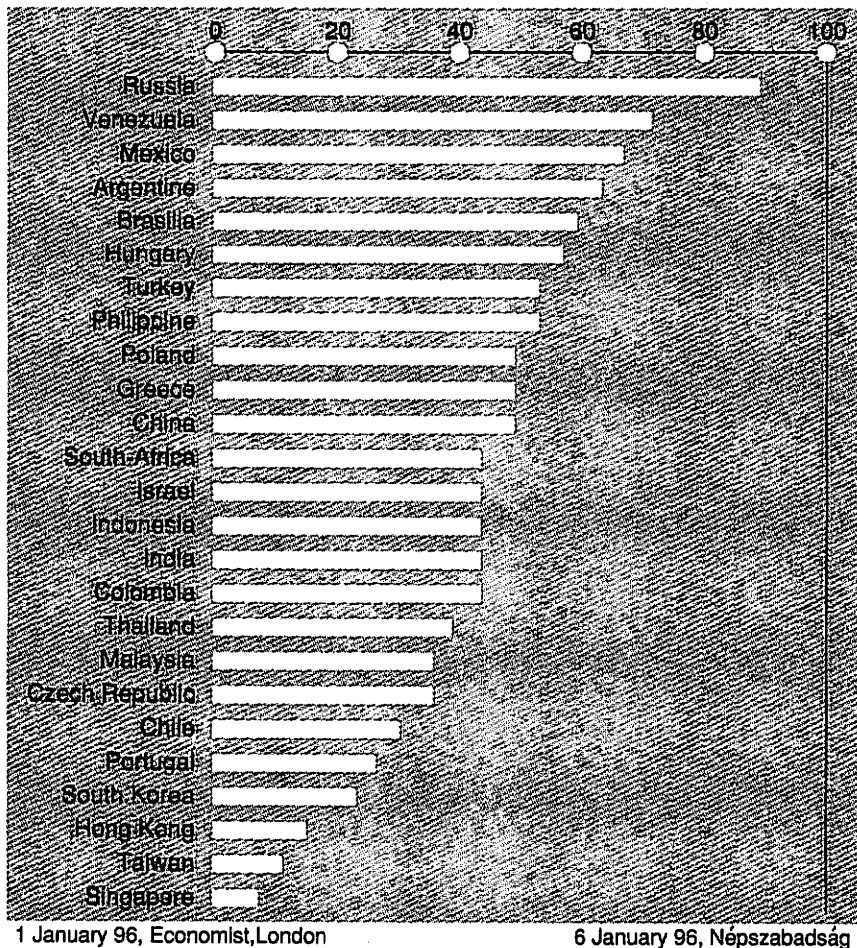
In 1989, Mikhail Gorbachyov stated in his idea of "European Common House", that Russia is also (legitimately) important member of new "Europe". Russian Government under Boris El'tsin also thought so for a while. They didn't think about the Russian exclusion in the European Enlargement.

But the Difference between the European Union and the NATO is: that the economy and capital investment could expand widely beyond the state border, but the *raison d'être* of security is to have an opponent, If Russia will join in the NATO, from which country will the NATO defend the interests of its member? Or (If Russia will join to the NATO) has the NATO Army the obligation to defend the borders of Siberia?: Those answer is absolutely not. (In May 2002, however, the NATO-Russian Directorate was constituted for conciliating Russia against enlargement.)

Economically Russia is regarded as a high-risk country (See Table 6). Hungary and Poland also estimated relatively high-risk country at that time, unexpectedly²⁷⁾. And domestically there is much political instability. But until 1993 at least, it seemed Russia occupied an important position to determine the European security.

In August to September 1993, when El'tsin visited the Czech Republic and Poland, he spoke in support of their joining to the NATO. This was a big sensation for Eastern Europe. But after he went back to Moscow, Defense Minister Gratchev said, that Russia was not willing for the former Warsaw Treaty Countries to participate in the NATO since this would upset the status quo. Russia feared isolation and proposed a security system for all European countries including the former Soviet Republics, as Gorbachyov thought. On 1 October El'tsin wrote letters to the NATO heads that the NATO should not be expanded into Eastern Europe. In November 1993, Primakov, Director of the Russian Intelligence Organization (at that time) spoke negatively about the NATO's expansion in the former Warsaw

Table 6. High risk countries



Treaty countries. He said that Russia had its own interest and wished to defend that interest²⁸⁾.

By this behavior, Central European Countries were offended unanimously. They asserted that the widening of the stabilization and safety in East Central Europe would not injure the Russian interest, but rather contribute to Russian safety. They were offended if Russia would be against the joining of Central European countries in the NATO, then they could not act harmoniously with Russia, because Central European countries are sovereign and no country must not violate their sovereignty.

But at that time, the NATO was skeptical about the early participation of Central Europe in the NATO, firstly because of the Russians objection,

secondly because of the instability of the former Yugoslavia. They had no idea who should bear the expenses of playing the role of peacemaker in Eastern Europe, although they were really willing to send an Army to the national/regional conflicts. The answer was no, at that time.

There were differences and confrontation about foreign policy objectives amongst Germany, France, and the US. Germany was positive about the expansion of the EU and the NATO to Eastern Europe, but France was critical and the US policy was phased expansion. Therefore they proposed the Partnership for Peace (PfP) on 11 January 1994, and not only Central European and Balkan countries but also Russia signed it on 22 June 1994.

Foreign Minister Kozyrev said that all efforts have to concentrate on the primary aim, "One Europe", and promised active participation. At this time, when the documents between the NATO and Russia were written. The cooperative relationship between Russia and the NATO is the key to the stability and safety in Europe/For the sake of this, we will perform the following things.

1) The exchange of information on security questions in Europe, 2) Political conferences on common interests in case of need, 3) cooperation on security including the field of peace keeping²⁹⁾. From that time, the relationship between Russia and Central European countries became worse. After that the relation between Russia and Western countries has not progressed very much in the field of economy, politics and security.

But the US policies changed after they decided to send the NATO troops to Bosnia, and even Kosovo to restore Peace. In 1996, the NATO Troops is stationed on Hungary's Southern border, and the Hungarian Government welcomes it. In 1999 the NATO Troops is stationed on Yugoslavia and Albania. If the NATO Troops stay longer in Eastern Europe, it always causes tensions with Russia. From 1995 to 1998, to counter the expansion of the EU and the NATO, Russia began to approach and reorganize the former Soviet Republics, Central Asia, and East Asia economically and with respect to security. But it didn't succeed.

Regarding the European Integration, Russia always will be a very

delicate position. Russian isolation or opposition against European Integrity could signify a very high cost for European Peace or Economy.

8. Problems and perspective in the 10 years of the Transformation in East Central Europe

Does it easily progress the Enlargement of Europe for Central European Countries? The answer will be optimistic and pessimistic.

Historically, the Central European countries were once a part of Europe and now the topic of their return to Europe is a question of time for the elite of the EU, for the sake of expanding the market, or obtaining cheap labours, and of the competition with or against Asia, in spite of the unwillingness of their nations, as I already mentioned.

The integration is one thing, but the problems which have to be solved are another. If these countries could successfully be integrated, the differences between East and West still remain considerable. At first the gap might get larger than before. It will be a really difficult long term task to achieve the average of European living standard. If the GDP grows generally, living standards might become lower than during the Socialist era especially for the Lower classes, Social Security payments are already cut back since 1990.

European Integration and globalization cuts down the social security in each country which competes to get advantage through importing cheaper industrial goods and employing cheaper labour abroad. Furthermore most of the East Central European countries have various causes of instability politically, economically, and socially and it may be possible that these problems will begin to grow in some ways during these 5-10 years before and after Integration. They know if they explode like Yugoslavia, they will not be integrated, but in the case that the Government is unable to quell the dissatisfaction of people, they might choose more radical parties.

The first and biggest potential peril will be the Nationality questions. In Bosnia, Kosovo, Montenegro, Vojvodina, Romanian Transylvania, Moldova, Slovakia, Central Asia... there remain many ethnic problems and the

Russians outside the Russian Federation always have the potential to cause some frictions and a threat. Now new Romanian government from 1996 and new Slovakian government from 1998 included the minority party to the governmental party, and try to consolidate the state and government. There are also frictions, but it is much better progress than Yugoslavian minority pressure and cleansing.

The second problem is the expanding conservatism all over Europe or all over the world after the collapse of the Socialist System. In Eastern Europe there are many roots of Populist nationalism, anti-Westernism, peasant resentment against the towns, anti-Semitism, or anti-"Europeanism" traditionally.

If the moderate conservatism survives, then Integration will be supported. However, when people's dissatisfaction adopts radical criticism of the present situation, there is the possibility that the anti-Western European and anti-integration parties will grow, claiming and defending their states and national interests. These radical rightist groups could grow and connect structurally with the anti-integration parties existing potentially in all countries in Europe including Western Europe.

The third problem is socialism, or the legitimacy of the revolution and of the system transformation in 1989. Table 7 gives an interesting poll³⁰. To the question "Is the new system better than the former system?" in 1996: You get widely different answers among countries. Hungary is the most pessimistic in this poll. On this answer depends the credibility of the Government's Authority. The Government of Germany and Czech has a credibility and stability. But that of Hungary has not. Many Hungarians feel the New System doesn't help their life, and this dissatisfaction will show in the next general election. And the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF) split again. It seems that Hungarian Democratic Forces are difficult to unite.

The experience of the Socialist System in East Central Europe during 45 years or in the Soviet Union during 74 years cannot be ignored. An important fact is that the remaining middle and lower bureaucrats and

Table 7. Poll in East European Countries

"Is the New System better or not ? "

	the former East Germany	Czech Republic	Poland	Slovakia	Hungary
Much worse	5	9	18	23	26
Little worse	14	14	21	28	25
The same	24	19	17	16	23
Little better	41	34	33	27	21
Much better	16	23	11	5	5
Sum	100	100	100	100	100
worse : Sum	19	23	39	51	51
better : Sum	57	57	44	32	26

24 February 96, Népszabadság

technologists have an interest in the old regime, but another important factor is: will the ordinary people tolerate the new system, having enjoyed the benefits of the state (s social security. Could people who lived under social security, endure the Government and Companies pursuing economic interests at the expense of half of the nations concerned?

Being different from the East South Asian counties which changed form Autocracy to a Democratic System, it is doubtful that People in East European countries changing from Socialism to the Democratic System, would support their own Government aiming for economic growth in their country without growth in the living standard of their nations. Therefore the difference of growth in the production capacity between Asia and Eastern Europe might be bigger by investing money in social care.

The forth problem is the agrarian problem, i.e. the town vs. village problem, which sometimes generates anti-Semitism, as well. After the Second World War and under the Socialist System urbanization grew, and the percentage of peasants became less, but after integration, many East European countries will still remain mainly agrarian countries. The Peasant Parties might become more powerful pressure groups economically and politically. Generally agrarian populations have difficulty in getting

protected their interests by integration and that's why they become critical of integration. Eventually they will take up the position of Europe's agrarian region.

The last problem is the Social and Economic system. In January 1996, there was a lecture by Stanisław Gomułka in LSE, University of London, Economic adviser of Polish Finance Ministers, and he pointed out an interesting thing: the Western Social Economic System characterizes high-tax, comparatively low individual saving, and high social security: whereas the Asian Social-Economic System, especially represented by South Korea and Japan, characterizes by low tax, high individual saving, and high individual security (pensioner e.g.). He said, for Eastern European countries, this might worthwhile to consider the Asian Capitalist model for the development of Eastern Europe in the future³¹).

But from the view of East European scholars and I, who lived in Eastern Europe, the Asian Model is very difficult to make fit to East European people, because 40 years Socialist System in Eastern Europe is completely the same as or much more state paternalistic than the Western Europe, and after the monetary crisis in NEIS countries in summer 1997, the discussion on the application of the Asian Model To Eastern Europe became finished.

The Enlargement of "Europe" have to means not only marketization and modernization, but also a peaceful and better life and the co-existence of nations. Each Government and people in Eastern Europe needs to search for its own path even after they integrate into European System in early 21st century.

9. The Recent Relation between Japan and East Central Europe after the System Transformation

Paralleled with Gorbachyov's perestroika, various changes started in East Central Europe. Especially strong and acute changes were happening in Poland and Hungary, while on the other hand Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic basically remained the same.

In Hungary Kádár János' influence became weaker and after the Grósz Károly came to the prime minister of the government, Radicalist Pozsgai Imre's influence strengthened. Following that drastic action change progressed, the historical estimation of 1956 was no longer Anti-Revolution, but rather the People's Uprising and National Revolution, Multi party systems were introduced, and in September 1989 the "Iron curtain" of the Austrian border was opened in the era of Németh Miklós, Prime Minister and Horn Gyula, Foreign Minister, in October the Communist Party dissolved, and on 23 October the Hungarian Republic was declared, in April 1990 free general election were held, and in May the New Democratic Government (a coalition of Hungarian Democratic Forum) was created³²⁾.

Japanese Prime Minister Kaifu visited Hungary just after the fall of the Berlin Wall, and promised credits and support for development under this situation. After those specialists, experts and young foreign collaborators began to be dispatched towards East Central Europe, and JETRO and the Japan Foundation built an office in Hungary and the other countries. Productivity Bureau was established to grant yen credits to East Central Europe³³⁾. The policy of marketization, privatization and democratization in East Central Europe brought many foreign investments to this area, and economic and political relationship strengthened rapidly.

The Minister of International Trade and Industry (MITI), the Chief of the Defense Agency, and the Foreign Minister visited Hungary, and Takamadono miya also visited Hungary (cf. H.I.H. Princess Takamado's fairy tale, *Katie and Dream-Eater* was translated into Hungarian by Hungarian President, Göncz Árpád)³⁴⁾ President Göncz visited Japan and participated in the enthronement ceremony of Akihito, Emperor Heisei of Japan in 1994. Hungarian Prime Minister Antal József (1991) and Prime Minister Horn Gyula (1995) also visited Japan. Reflecting these intimate relationships, the requirement for a Visa was abolished between Japan and Hungary in June 1997. (Now the no-visa countries in this region are Hungary, Czech, Poland, and Yugoslavia. Slovakia, Romania, Bulgaria and

other countries still require a visa for Japanese.) Hungary is the biggest invested country for Japan in the region (70% of Japanese investment towards Eastern Europe is to Hungary) by Suzuki, Sony, TDK, Tomen, Itochu, Season group and so on³⁵).

In Hungary from elementary school to university, pupils and students can study Japanese language, but many of them abandon it, because of the difficulty. In 1996, there are many Japanese cultural traditions and Matsuri introduced to Hungary as a part of the ceremony of 1100 years of Hungarian State Establishment. And in turn next year we will hold a Hungarian Festival in Japan for the 1000 years of Hungarian King St. István crowning. (The International Conference by Joint-Research between Japan and Hungary was held in Hosei University in October 2000)

East Central European countries, who have joined NATO and will join the EU in the near future, are very important neighbors in the 21st century. Central Europe is presently relatively stabled financially, economically and politically. (Concerning social problems, we have to investigate more seriously on the other articles) Considering "European great enlargement" in the 21st century, it will be also very necessary for Japan to relate with and understand East and Central European countries and peoples.

** This Article was written as a Working Paper on the International Conference of "Japan and its Neighbors in the Global Village: Current and Emergent Issues", on 16 October, 1999 in Nanzan University, Nagoya, Japan. It was revised in July 2002.

〈Note〉

- 1) See *Basic Studies on the Cultural Relations between Japan and East-Central European Countries* (abbreviation BSCR JECEC), Association for the Study of Japan's Cultural Relations with East-Central Europe, Association for East European Studies, Tokyo, 1982.
- 2) *Benyovszky Móric gróf életrajza, saját emlékiratai és útleírásai* (Biography,

- memoir and book of travel by grof. Benyovszky Móric*), translated by Jókai Mór, Budapest, 1888, in Vida János, History of Cultural exchange between Hungary and Japan: Before the First World War, *BSCR JECEC*, p.64–65.
- 3) Ryotaro Shiba, *Sakano ueno Kumo (Cloud above the Hill: Historical Novel about Russo-Japanese War)*, quoted in Hiroshi Bando, *The Poles towards Russo-Japanese War*, Aoki, 1995.
 - 4) Kumiko Haba, "Japan-Hungarian Cultural Agreement", *BSCR JECEC*, pp. 210–215.
 - 5) These chapters are based on the author's article, "Co-operation and Competition for Return to 'Europe'", The Spring Seminar of University of London: Division and Integration of "Another Europe" —Towards the Co-existence of Nations—, *Occasional Papers*, Hosei University in London, London, 1996. And the author's book, *Enlarging Europe, Central Europe searching a way*, Iwanami Publisher, Tokyo, 1998.
 - 6) Berend Iván, "Európához, de hogyan (Towards Europe, but how?)", *Kritika*, 1991.
 - 7) Krzysztof Pomian, *L'Europe et ses nations*, Editions Gallimard, 1990. Preface. On the 'European' concept and prejudice, see: Norman Davies, *Europe. A History*, Oxford, New York, 1996
 - 8) *Asahi Shinbun*, 11 February 1996, 3 March 1996.
 - 9) "The Tax Union between Turkey and EU: The significance of it", *Occasional Report*, Fuji-Sogo-Institute, London Office, 20 November, 1995.
 - 10) *Asahi Shinbun*, 3 March, 1996.
 - 11) *The European*, 7–13 March, 1996.
 - 12) *Népszabadság (People's Liberty)*, 9 March 1996, Hungary.
 - 13) About this process, see Kumiko Haba, "The Central European Regional Cooperation and European Integration —A Study of Hungary—", *Japanese Slavic and East European Studies*, Vol.13, 1992.
 - 14) Kumiko Haba, *Enlarging Europe, Central Europe searching a way*, Iwanami Publisher, Tokyo, 1998.
 - 15) *Népszabadság*, 21 February 1996, 10 February 1996.
 - 16) *Népszabadság*, 25 January 1996.
 - 17) *Magyar Nemzet (Hungarian Nation)*, 17 September 1991, Hungary.
 - 18) *Magyar Nemzet*, 20 October, 1991.
 - 19) *Magyar Nemzet*, 30 May, 1991.

- 20) *Magyar Nemzet*, 11 October, 6 November, 1991.
- 21) This process also See: Kumiko Haba, *op. cit.*, JSSEES, 1992. and Kumiko Haba, *Enlarging Europe*, 1998.
- 22) Géza Jeszenszky, Lecture in Munich, 18 November 1993.
- 23) About this, see Kumiko Haba, *Nationality Question in Integrating Europe*, Kodansha Shinsho, Tokyo, 1994.
- 24) Relations between Hungary and the European Union, *Facts Sheets of Hungary : Ministry of Foreign Affairs: the EU*, Budapest, 1995, No. 4.
- 25) *Ibid.*
- 26) Interview in Hungarian Embassy, March, 1996.
- 27) *Népszabadság*, 6 January 1996, *Economist*, 1 January 1996, London.
- 28) About the following process, see Kumiko Haba, "Eastern Europe and the EC and the NATO", *Gaiko-Jiho (Diplomatic Journal)*, May 1994, Kumiko Haba, *Nationality Question in Integrating Europe*, 1994, and Kumiko Haba, *Enlarging Europe*, 1998.
- 29) *Asahi Shinbun*, 23 June 1994.
- 30) *Népszabadság*, 24 February 1996.
- 31) Stanisław Gomułka, "Polish Economic Policy", Polish Economic Seminar, 31 January, 1996. In connection with this, see: Louis Emmerij (the President of the Development Centre of OECD), "Eastern Europe: Should it look East rather than West?" in *International Press Service, South Letter*, Spring, 1992. And Raymond Saner and Linchia Yiu, "Learning from the Asian NICs: Policy options for Central & Eastern European Republics", *International Comparative Management*, vol. 9, 1994, pp. 253-275.
- 32) *The Reliable book of Facts Hungary '98*, Budapest, 1998.
- 33) Südy Zoltán (Hungarian Ambassador in Japan), "The Relation between Hungary and Japan", *Japan in the World*, XVII, p. 22. The following many information, I owe to this interesting article.
- 34) *Kati és az álomévő (Katie and Dream-Eater)*, Írta Ó Császári Fensége Takamado Hercegnő, Fordította Göncz Árpád, Móra Kiadó, Budapest, 1998.
- 35) Südy Zoltán, "The Relation between Hungary and Japan", *Japan in the World*, XVII, pp. 23-24.

〈Reference〉

Asahi Shinbun

The European

Magyar Nemzet

Népszabadság

PHARE: The European Union's pre-accession strategy for the associated countries of Central Europe

PHARE: An interim evaluation, Published by European Commission: The Central European Countries.

Basic Studies on the Cultural Relations between Japan and East-Central European Countries, Association for the Study of Japan's Cultural Relations with East-Central Europe, Association for East European Studies, Tokyo, 1982.

Berend Iván, "Európához, de hogyan?", *Kritika*, 1991.

Davies, Norman, *Europe. A History*, Oxford, New York, 1996.

The Challenge of Europeanization in the Region: East Central Europe, Hungarian Political Science Association, 1996.

Gergely Attila, "A regionális fejlesztési politikák globalizációja (Globalization of the Regional Development Policy)", *Európai Unió-Regionalizmus-Szuverenitás*, IV Országos politológus vándorgyűlés, Székesfehérvár, 1998 március 20–21.

Hungary towards the European Integration, Foreign Policy, Hungarian Institute of International Affairs, 1997.

Integration, Regionalism, Minorities: What is the Link?, Hungarian Institute of International Affairs, Budapest, 1997.

Mayhew, Alan, *Recreating Europe, The European Union's Policy towards Central and Eastern Europe*, Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Pomian, Krzysztof, *L'Europe et ses nations*, Editions Gallimard, 1990.

Süudy, Zoltán, "The Relation between Hungary and Japan", *Japan in the World*, XVII, Tokyo, 1996.

Haba, Kumiko, *Nationality Question in Integrating Europe*, Kodansha Shinsho, Tokyo, 1994.

Haba, Kumiko, *Enlarging Europe, Central Europe searching a way*, Iwanami Publisher, Tokyo, 1998.

Haba, Kumiko, *Globalization and European Enlargement*, Ochanomizu Publisher, Tokyo, 2002.

- Haba, Kumiko, "Japan-Hungarian Cultural Agreement", *Basic Studies on the Cultural Relations between Japan and East-Central European Countries*, Association for the Study of Japan's Cultural Relations with East-Central Europe, Tokyo, 1982.
- Haba, Kumiko, "A magyar történelem kutatása és oktatása Japánban (Research and Education of Hungarian History in Japan)", MTA Történettudományi Intézete honfoglalás 1000 évforduló Konferenciában (Conference on Hungarian Conquest 1000 years' anniversary in Institute of History), Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, 1996.
- Haba, Kumiko, "Co-operation and Competition for Return to 'Europe'", The Spring Seminar of University of London: Division and Integration of "Another Europe" —Towards the Co-existence of Nations—, *Occasional Papers*, Hosei University in London, London, 1996.
- Haba, Kumiko, "The Central European Regional Cooperation and European Integration —A Study of Hungary—", *Japanese Slavic and East European Studies*, Vol. 13, Tokyo, 1992.
- Haba, Kumiko, "Eastern Europe and the EC and the NATO", *Gaiko Jiho (Diplomatic Journal)*, Tokyo, May 1994.